1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Grand Mound

Other Name/Site Number: Smith Site (21KC3); Grand Mound Site; Laurel Mounds; Smith Mounds

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: [redacted] Not for publication: X

City/Town: [redacted] Vicinity: N/A

State: Minnesota County: Koochiching Code: 071 Zip Code: [redacted]

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property		Category of Property	
Private:	X	Building(s):	__
Public-Local:	__	District:	__
Public-State:	__	Site:	X
Public-Federal:	__	Structure:	__
		Object:	__

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing
__	__ buildings
1	__ sites
__	__ structures
__	__ objects
1	0 Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 1

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: N/A

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register
___ Determined eligible for the National Register
___ Determined not eligible for the National Register
___ Removed from the National Register
___ Other (explain):

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	RELIGION	Sub:	Religious facility (mounds)
	DOMESTIC		Camp (temporary habitation site)
Current:	RECREATION AND CULTURE	Sub:	Museum (interpretive historic site)

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: Other, Native American earthworks

MATERIALS: earth
Foundation:
Walls:
Roof:
Other:

Summary

The Grand Mound is the center of an interconnected archeological landscape of mounds, seasonal villages and sturgeon fishing sites [redacted], [redacted] in Minnesota. This is an extraordinary place that contains not only the immense and unusual mound itself, but also a set of stratified village deposits encompassing the Middle and Late Woodland periods (ca. BC 200 to 1400 AD). These layers were built up through centuries of periodic floods, which consecutively buried the previous village surface with new sediment. This resulted in related groups of artifacts being vertically separated from those of both older and younger deposits. The geological context allows archeological study of culture and environment at the scale of decades rather than centuries, as is more often the case with sites of this age. The village site constitutes an archeological layer cake spanning a period of profound historical change. It tells the story of the site's transition from a spring gathering place for the harvest of spawning fish, through development as a spiritual center by contact and interaction with the vast religious and trade network centered on the Hopewell Culture heartland of present-day Ohio. At this site, approximately two millennia ago, the people [redacted] blended Hopewell ideas with their own indigenous, probably Algonquian, cosmology. The archeological legacy of these events is known as the Laurel Culture, which includes the first pottery and earthworks in this part of the continent. The stratified village site tracks changes in Laurel (Middle Woodland) and Blackduck (Late Woodland) technology, ritual and daily life, in a continuity lasting approximately 1,600 years.

The site is nationally significant under Criterion 6 because of the research value of the stratified archeological deposits (it is also the type site for the Laurel Culture and Laurel ceramics), and under Criterion 4 for the architectural integrity and unique nature of the Grand Mound itself when considered in the context of its recently discovered 200-foot “tail.” The large, ovate body of the mound with this long, linear extension constitutes an effigy symbolic of the belief system of its makers, as does the earthwork’s placement in a low lying, seasonally inundated floodplain. The Grand Mound is unlike any other known earthwork in the United States.

The Grand Mound is the largest of five earthworks at the Smith site (21KC3). The site has been the subject of archeological investigation for more than a century. The name, “Grand Mound” dates to the first antiquarian research at the site (Bryce 1885, 1904). Later archeological investigations refer to the site as the Laurel Mounds [redacted] or the Smith site [redacted], or variations of these names. The site number for the Smith site (including the Grand Mound, other earthworks and stratified habitation site) is 21KC3. While the name “Grand Mound” designates a single earthwork, it is also informally used to refer to the entirety of the Smith site. It is the name for the property that has been utilized by the Minnesota Historical Society for purposes of interpretation (Grand Mound Historic Site and Grand Mound Interpretive Center).

Known components of the site range from the Archaic Tradition into the historic period. However, the focus of investigations has been the mounds and related stratified village site, ranging in date from ca. 200 BC-AD 1400. This period of significance includes the Middle Woodland, as indicated by Laurel ceramics (ca. 200 BC-AD 900), and the beginning of the Terminal Woodland, with Blackduck ceramics (ca. AD 650-1400). The site is the type site for Laurel ceramics and the Laurel Culture (Budak 1995; Jenks 1935; Lugenbeal 1976; Stoltman 1962, 1973; Wilford 1937, 1950a). It is also the type site for the Smith Phase within the Laurel Culture (Stoltman 1973). This is the youngest of three phases for Laurel, for which Stoltman (1974:88) later suggested a date of ca. AD 500-900.

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

Description

The Grand Mound is a prominent landmark [redacted]. It is a large, ovate earthwork, the main body measuring ca. 140 feet in length and 100 feet in width. At its highest point, the mound rises approximately 25 feet above the surrounding terrain (Figure 2). Budak (1995:28) estimates that the mound volume is 90,000 cubic feet, or 5,000 tons of earth. The mound includes a unique linear extension, measuring approximately 200 feet in length. Close to the main body of the mound, it is approximately 12 feet wide and 3 feet in height (Figure 3). It tapers to a point and into the ground at the far end (Budak and Reid 1995). The body of the mound is vegetated primarily with ferns and scattered trees. Most of the extension (the "tail") is currently covered in thick brush.

Grand Mound is the largest of five earthworks at the site (Figures 2-5). The other four, while impressive, are more comparable in size to other conical mounds in the Upper Midwest (e.g. Arzigian and Stevenson 2003; Birmingham and Eisenberg 2000), and are dwarfed by the Grand Mound. The smallest, Mound 5, is 30 feet in diameter and 1½ feet tall. Mound 2 is 60 feet in diameter and 7 feet tall, second largest after the Grand Mound (Mound 1). The earthworks and associated habitation site are the focus of a historical park owned by the Minnesota Historical Society. [redacted], the site area is wooded. [redacted]. The mounds are located between this channel, [redacted], [redacted] (this portion of the property constitutes the proposed NHL boundaries). Mowed grass walking trails provide access to the site, via a boardwalk that descends the slope from the interpretive center. Although currently closed due to budgetary constraints, the center houses exhibits about the site and the archeology of the surrounding region, and has hosted public interpretive programs and experimental archeological research since the 1970s (e.g. Budak 1984, 1985, 1990, 1991a, 1991b, 1993, 1995; Budak and Reid 1995; Swanholm 1978).

It should be noted that most estimates of the Grand Mound's height have placed it at 45 feet (rather than 25), beginning with the earliest records (Bryce 1885, 1904). Budak (1995) considers it unlikely that the mound has eroded to such an extent in a little more than a century, and notes that the linear distance up the slope from the ground to the top measures 45 feet. This distance itself gives a sense of the mound's scale, but is technically different than its height. Bryce's observations of the mound were quoted by Winchell (1911:369), a primary source for Minnesota archeology, and it seems likely that the error has simply been repeated from there. Admittedly, the mound's immense size presents a challenge to casual measures of its height in particular. Lugenbeal (1976) also recorded the correct height of the mound (and actually measured it). He points out that the mound could not have been 45 feet high at the time of Bryce's visit, as judged from the scale of the people in a 1907 photograph (Figure 5). These observations "leave it as the undisputed king of Laurel mounds, but bring it more in line with other known Laurel mounds" (Lugenbeal 1976:5).

As site manager for the Minnesota Historical Society from 1979 until 1997, Mike Budak has observed the site far more closely, daily, and in all seasons of the year, than has been possible for other archeologists. It was this familiarity that allowed his recognition of the 200-foot "tail" (Figures 3-4), which incredibly had escaped detection through more than a century of scrutiny (Lloyd Wilford does note the tail in a memo dated May 1956, but he did not explore its nature in his work at the site). Essentially all of the investigations of the site throughout its archeological history have been of brief duration, and have been conducted in the thick vegetation and insect swarms of summer.

The earliest detailed description of Grand Mound dates to George Bryce's visit in 1884:

> There is a dense forest covering the river bank where the mound is found. The owner of the land has made a small clearing, which now shows the mound to some extent to one standing on the deck of a steamer passing on the river. … The mound strikes you with great surprise as your eye first catches it. Its crest is covered with lofty trees, which overtop the surrounding forest. These thriving trees, elm, soft maple, basswood and poplar, 60 or 70 feet high now thrust their root tendrils deep into the aforetime softened mound. A foot or more of a mass of decayed leaves and other vegetable matter encases the mound (Bryce 1885, 1904:15).

Two aspects of this passage are particularly notable. First is the clear similarity to the site setting today, which is wooded with small clearings around the mounds. Trees are still present on the Grand Mound although they have been thinned, first by Bryce's own excavations. Second is the reference to a land owner having cleared the area. The US General Land Office records do not mention a homestead at this location in 1882, [redacted]. The records also document a logging boom about [redacted]. In 1889, only two farmsteads were recorded [redacted], one at [redacted] and one at the present location [redacted].

It is interesting to note that an anthropogenic clearance of apparent antiquity has persisted at the nearby Long Sault site (Arthurs 1986:13) and that anomalies in vegetation (for example, a patch of basswood, oak or other "southern" trees) are present at archeological sites elsewhere in the region (e.g. Richner 2002). Similar species (elm, basswood, maple) are identified by Bryce at the Grand Mound. In addition, direct evidence of ancient clearings at the site is seen in a pollen core from the old channel [redacted]. Four peaks of chenopods and amaranth, indicators of disturbed ground, are present. Two below a radiocarbon date of 1850±50 BP [100 CE] are thought to represent changes in the paleohydrology [redacted]. The first peak after that date is interpreted as the result of prehistoric activity at Grand Mound and the nearby Hannaford sites, while the last is thought to represent Euroamerican clearance and logging in the nineteenth century (Huber 1995; Rapp et al. 1995).

While intriguing, these observations do not resolve the question of the 1884 clearing. If the clearance was recent at the time of Bryce's visit, it seems likely that the owner was not a resident of the property. Selective clearing of trees at the site has continued during the historic period, to facilitate visits to the mounds. The formerly neighboring town [redacted], which was the scene of local gatherings (Nunnally 1996:7.20). The property was acquired by [redacted] to protect the mounds from looting. His family sold it to the Minnesota Historical Society in 1970. Additional land was purchased in 1976, for construction of the interpretive center, which is out of view from the mounds (Budak 1995:28).

Environmental Setting

The landscape at a regional scale is an integral aspect of the site's setting, and is briefly described here in terms of water, land and climate. The site is defined geographically [redacted]. [redacted], with a watershed of approximately 18,000 square miles, and an average flow between 10,000 and 18,000 cubic feet per second [redacted]. The upper course of the watershed drains a portion of the Canadian Shield, and is readily

navigable through differing series of interconnected lakes, dropping 438 feet in the 200 miles [redacted]. Surpassing 150,000 acres, Rainy Lake is the largest of the numerous border lakes. [redacted], the nature of the drainage changes markedly. [redacted]

[redacted] watershed measures 2,063 square miles. Its discharge [redacted] 950 cubic feet per second. From the upper reaches of the watershed, at the headwaters [redacted].

The region's cold, long winters and heavy snows are undeniably a limiting factor in the regional ecology. Continental extreme temperatures are also known in summer, however, working with the region's vast wetlands to produce abundant swarms of insects. Above the floodplains, the region's native forest was primarily pine. The Red Lake peatlands begin a short distance [redacted]. Sturgeon, pike and suckers spawn in the spring, not coincidentally at the locations of earthwork sites including the Grand Mound. The sturgeon population was decimated by overfishing in the historic period, but is slowly recovering. These fish were critical resources at a particularly vulnerable time in the hunter-gatherer seasonal round. Moose and caribou were plentiful in the region prior to historic-era clearance, which has favored white-tailed deer. Black bear, beaver, muskrat and other mammals were also important in the regional archeology, and remain in the area today (Arthurs 1986; Holzkamm et al. 1988; Mather 1996; Nute 1950; Tester 1995).

Grand Mound is located [redacted], which at its greatest extent was larger than all of the Great Lakes combined. Lake drainage of the Emerson Phase occurred between approximately 9,900 and 9,600 radiocarbon years before present (BP). The rivers later stabilized as they downcut into the glacial clay sediments by 9,200 BP. This level is Hajic's (1996) T2 terrace. A long episode of river incision between 6,900 and 5,900 years ago created the T1 terrace, approximately two meters below the T2 surface. The current floodplains (the T0 surfaces) are another two meters below that.

In terms of site-specific geomorphology, Hajic (1996) places the site on the bfT0b terrace. This abbreviation means terrace "0b" of the [redacted] (bf) River. T0b surfaces are high floodplains along major rivers, and are inundated in large magnitude floods. Hajic writes that the site area probably consisted of active meander belts and point bar development from about 5,900 to 2,250 BP, after which point floodplain deposits began to build up vertically. The former channel [redacted], [redacted], is the most visible legacy of this landscape evolution. Lugenbeal (1976:15) notes that the site was located [redacted], or in it, depending on the timing of the channel development.

Archeological Investigations

Grand Mound has held a prominent role in the development of archeology as a science since its antiquarian beginnings in the late nineteenth century. The research goals and findings of generations of investigators amply demonstrate the significance of the site. The following summary is ordered both by the history of the research and by subject (earthworks, ceramics, osteology, etc.).

In August of 1884, George Bryce (1885, 1904) undertook the first published and most ambitious attempt to excavate the Grand Mound. He refers to two previous excavations. One was on the top of the mound [redacted] In the other, in 1882-1883, E. McColl, Indian Agent (see below), and Mr. Crowe, Hudson Bay officer of Fort Francis, and a party of men planned to tunnel through Grand Mound from north to south. They made it 10 to 15 feet in before giving up. Bryce hired a local group in 1884 to complete the tunnel if possible, and then dig down to it from the top of the mound.

A letter (August 7, 1883) from McColl regarding his expedition is quoted by Winchell (1911:375) in *The Aborigines of Minnesota*. While he exaggerates the size of the [redacted] mounds, effectively doubling the size of the Grand Mound, his description of the interior structure of the mound is clearly of interest. McColl describes his tunnel as larger than reported by Bryce.

> I attempted to dig right through the middle [of the Grand Mound], but after laboring at it with my men for several days last year and this, I abandoned it. We dug into the south side of it about 25 feet at the base. I found that there was a floor of several inches of coarse sand mixed with charcoal and considerable traces of fires. The inner part of the mound was black earth mixed with ashes and having the appearance of being thoroughly mixed together with water and subjected to considerable heat, so that any pebbles found therein were burnt. Above this mixture there is a covering from 1½ feet to 2 feet of clay, and covering the clay there is from 5 feet to 6 feet of black earth, which had neither been mixed with ashes nor subjected to the action of fire. … [redacted]

Bryce's team in 1884 began digging from both sides, with the intention of meeting in the middle. The tunnels were approximately 8 feet in diameter. The earth became very hard as they dug, and they had to use pickaxes. [redacted] That tunnel continued to a distance of 30 feet. The length of the north tunnel was not specified, although he mentions that the tunneling effort was abandoned with approximately 40 feet to go. A prominent factor in this decision was the increasingly poor preservation of finds with depth into the center of the mound. At a distance of 15 feet, one tunneller found …

> … a horizontal pocket in the earth eight or ten inches wide and eighteen or twenty inches deep, a quantity of brown dust, [redacted]

The party then moved to the top of the mound. Trees were removed "over a considerable space." [redacted] Several excavations were made in the mound surface, "and it was found that every part from

the base to the crest [redacted] The tunnels were apparently not backfilled, and they collapsed after a few years (Budak 1995).

The scars of Bryce's tunnel, and the efforts of other relic hunters, are now largely obscured by vegetation in the summer. The collapsed tunnel openings in particular are quite visible in the spring and fall, but are even then overwhelmed by the sheer size and grandeur of the mound. It could be argued that these damages are themselves a legacy of the antiquarian search for the "lost race" of the Mound Builders. More importantly, they are a visible reminder of the continuing need for stewardship and protection of this and other cultural heritage sites.

Most digging by antiquarians and relic hunters is not recorded in the written record. Another notable exception relevant to the Grand Mound is the diary of Ernest L. Brown, a taxidermist from Warren, Minnesota. In the 1890s, he trapped and traveled [redacted] His diary records some of these activities. It is difficult to correlate many of the mounds with current site records, but some, such as the Long Sault site in Ontario and the Grand Mound, are recognizable. Brown kept selected artifacts [redacted], and divided others with his associates. He may have sold some. "Sat 21. Went over to open mound at the Village but Indians have got cranky again. Some fellow has been setting them up by saying that I get a big price for relics" (Brown 1890-1909:23).

On May 25, 1892, Brown records, "Waiting for the Steamboat Shamrock to make a trip to Fort Frances with the intention of opening big mound" (Brown 1890-1909:24). Mound looting was a common highlight to steamboat travel [redacted]. For example, *The Rat Portage Miner and Rainy Lake Journal* reported on July 29, 1902, "A rare treat was afforded the passengers of the streamer Keenora on her last trip to Fort Francis, viz., that of investigating the mysteries of the prehistoric mound [redacted]." This is almost certainly the Grand Mound. The article observes that the digging occurred "with the kind permission of Mrs. Bailey, the owner of the property on which the mound is situated, and armed with spades, shovels, etc., about 50 enquirers after archeological lore were soon following the leadership of Pilot Muckatavis, of the Keenora, who is a lineal descendent of the mound builders."

The protection afforded the mounds during this period by the Rainy River First Nations in Ontario is noteworthy. Brown writes, "Thurs 26. At the [redacted] We all got out to walk while they got out the tow line got all the Indians a hold to help [redacted]. [redacted]. It is said the Indians will not allow them opened. Indians catching lot of sturgeon. One Fellow said he caught 15 last night. Next come [redacted] not so long but terrible swift. Had to tie a long line to post across river and wind up by hand on the capstan. Took about an hour hard work. There is a big mound here also that has not been opened" [redacted]

On May 30, 1892, Brown visited the Grand Mound, [redacted] He lists the circumference around the base as 130 yards, the north-south profile as 45 paces and profile east-west as 60 paces. The mound was "covered with big elm and poplar about 10 rods from River in low ground. About 15 rods to smaller mounds on river bank each way. Soil inside black clay dry and hard, too big a job to tackle" (Brown 1890-1909:26).

Local resident [redacted] purchased the land containing the mounds in 1930, with the intention of stopping the looting that had gone on for at least half a century. After that date, excavation was allowed only for professional archeologists. The [redacted] family farm is located [redacted] of the site, and is still in the possession of the family.

Professor Albert Jenks and Lloyd Wilford of the University of Minnesota conducted the first scientific excavations at the site in 1933, with a focus on Mound 4. It was the only mound that had escaped obvious damage by relic hunters, presumably due to its relative isolation from the other earthworks at the site. The mound was completely excavated. The results are included in Wilford's (1937) dissertation and an address to the Minnesota Historical Society by Jenks (1935). The site was referred to as the Laurel Mounds by Jenks and Wilford, [redacted]. This work ultimately resulted in the site being the type site both for Laurel ceramics, and for the Laurel Focus [redacted] (Wilford 1950a), later termed the Laurel Culture (Stoltman 1973). Laurel ceramics have since been recognized to have a distribution over a large portion of the North American midcontinent (Janzen 1968; Mason 1969, 1970, 1981; Rajnovich 1994; Wright 1967, 1999). The selection of Mound 4 for excavation demonstrates that the importance of the site was recognized by Jenks and Wilford. This was the very beginning of systematic study of Minnesota archeology. With the entire state to choose from, they decided to come here. In his address to the Minnesota Historical Society, Jenks (1935:18) confidently stated, "All the material recovered at Laurel will have significance in American archeology."

At the time of its excavation, Mound 4 was 50 feet in diameter and 4'10" tall. [redacted]. The mound fill contained Laurel pottery sherds. An apparent village layer was found under the mound, with two hearth features and other artifacts in the original topsoil. [redacted] One dog burial was also present, at the west side of the mound (Wilford 1937, 1950a; Stoltman 1962, 1973).

Mound 4 also contained an apparent Blackduck cache in a pot (apparently not associated with a burial, cf. Stoltman 1973:12), consisting of 12 clamshells, four beaver incisors, three bone tools, a tubular stone pipe (sucking tube?), one projectile point and one ground fragment of green schist. One of the clamshells was included in the first comprehensive attempt to obtain radiometric dates from Minnesota archeological sites, producing a date of 1350±120 BP (Johnson 1964).

Mound 4 [redacted]

Wilford returned to the site in May 1956 and noticed "an extensive embankment on the west side of the Grand Mound." This must refer to at least part of the tail, which otherwise escaped notice by archeologists until the mid-1990s (Budak and Reid 1995). During this visit, Wilford was asked by the [redacted] family to excavate Mound 3, which they feared would soon be lost to erosion [redacted]. Wilford returned with a student crew later in the summer. The oblong mound at that time measured approximately 50x40 feet, by 4 feet in height. It had been disturbed by looters, and was bisected by an old trench that Wilford attributed to

Bryce (Bryce only records digging in the Grand Mound). Wilford and his crew excavated the north half of the mound including part of the old trench. [redacted] Pottery in the mound fill was primarily Laurel, although small numbers of Blackduck sherds were found in every level. The mound appeared to have been built incrementally, with the possibility of a prepared sand floor under the first stage.

[redacted] preservation in Mound 3 was poor, [redacted]

[redacted] Wilford's Mound 3 excavation was the last disturbance to any of the earthworks. [redacted] Mounds 3 and 4 have been studied by Ossenberg (1974), Torbenson et al. (1994) and others. [redacted].

Mike Budak personally rebuilt Mound 4 in 1990, [redacted] and serves as a monument to the ongoing reconciliation between archeologists and American Indian communities.

By the mid-twentieth century, [redacted]

The ceramics from Wilford and Jenks' mound excavations were the subject of James Stoltman's (1962) M.A. thesis at the University of Minnesota, under the direction of Elden Johnson. Non-ceramic and faunal materials were studied by Webster (1967, 1973) and Lukens (1963, 1973). Stoltman's modal analysis was an advance in archeological science, and continues to be a model for the definition of a ceramic type. Based on statistical analysis of pottery from five of the six then-known Laurel sites, Stoltman identified modes based on materials, technique of manufacture, shape, decoration and inferred use. Correlation of these modes resulted in definition of the "major types," Laurel Bossed, Laurel Pseudo-Scallop Shell, Laurel Dentate, Laurel Push and Pull; and the "minor types" Laurel Incised, Laurel Linear Stamp and Laurel Non-Decorated (Stoltman 1962:37-45, 52-53, 87, 111-116). This work was the basis of Stoltman's continuing research on Laurel ceramics, and a revised and expanded typology was published in *The Laurel Culture* (Stoltman 1973). This approach was an important innovation in the definition and analysis of archeological ceramic wares, and a major influence on later studies by Lugenbeal (1976, 1978a, 1978b, 1979; see also Thomas 1996; Stoltman 1996) and others. Of equal importance, recognition of the variation within the Laurel ceramic type allowed more precise relative dating and greater analytical significance within the stratified habitation deposits of the site.

The first non-mound excavations of the site were conducted by James Stoltman in 1968, consisting of two 5x5 foot units (Features 1/68 and 2/68) in the eastern part of the habitation site. These units found stratified floodplain deposits and Blackduck cultural layers. Stoltman's primary interest was Laurel.

The Minnesota Historical Society acquired the site in 1970, for purposes of protection. The site was the subject of an archeological field school the same year, although not as originally envisioned. Stoltman's choice of the site highlights its significance and research potential.

> … I made plans to excavate the Smith site, the type site of the Laurel Culture, because it was known to be undisturbed by plowing and to possess stratified deposits of village refuse [redacted]. My intention was to concentrate upon the habitation areas of the site as a complement to Wilford's earlier work at Minnesota Laurel sites [redacted]; thus I hoped to contribute a better-rounded picture of the Laurel Culture by adding data on house types, subsistence and ecology. In addition, I hoped to exploit the stratified deposits of the site to determine how much of the between-site cultural variation encountered by Wilford could be attributed to age differences within the Laurel Culture (Stoltman 1974:74).

This plan was stymied by flooding at the site, however, and the field school was moved to the nearby McKinstry Mound 1, [redacted]. Conditions permitted a brief return to the site before the end. The experience solidified Lugenbeal's research focus on the site, working on his PhD under Stoltman.

> Towards the end of the 1970 field school the water finally abated and some postdiluvian tests were made in the Smith site. Three 2- by 2-meter pits were excavated (Features 6, 7 and 8) west of the 1968 tests. The purpose, as in 1968, was to locate the Laurel village site from which the artifact-rich fill of the mounds had been derived. The village had to be there – someplace. And it was. In Features 7 and 8 substantial amounts of Laurel habitation refuse were encountered below even larger quantities of Blackduck living debris. The 1970 testing, in which I participated, proceeded painfully because of the presence of merciless hordes of mosquitoes that seemed to generate spontaneously from the soggy flotsam of the flood. Morale was maintained by the excitement of what we were finding: excellent stratigraphic evidence for the relationship of Blackduck and Laurel artifacts, fine bone preservation, and a rich yield in artifacts (Lugenbeal 1976:100).

Returning at the head of his own field school in 1972, Lugenbeal and his crew had time to lay out three 3x3 meter units before the sheriff intervened. Local Indian people had protested the dig at the site, and subsequent negotiations with the Minnesota Historical Society and State Archeologist consumed much of the available field season. In the end it was agreed that the units already begun could be finished. The shortened field season, while a disappointment to Lugenbeal, was nevertheless a significant contribution to the archeology of the site. In particular, the 1972 excavations determined that the area around Mound 4 [redacted] characterizes this as "the single most important discovery of the field season."

Based on the cumulative excavations of the habitation site, Lugenbeal (1976:122) defined three Blackduck strata, two Laurel strata, and one possible sub-Laurel stratum, separated by sterile flood deposits and clearly defined natural stratigraphy. Radiocarbon dates range from AD 480±60 in Laurel 1 to AD 1165±67 in Blackduck 3. He found that artifact density drops quickly with distance from the river, and feared that much has been lost through erosion, which was active at the time of his investigation. [redacted] The cultural strata across the site were protected by 10 to 80 centimeters of sterile

floodplain sediments. Lugenbeal (1976:12) concluded that the site possesses "all the qualities that endear it to an archeologist – thick habitation residue, rich artifact yield, excellent bone preservation, and fine natural stratigraphy."

Lugenbeal's (1976) dissertation on the archeology of the site remains a model for comprehensive, interdisciplinary research. After summarizing the region's environmental and geologic context and the site's investigative history in the context of Laurel and Blackduck research, he turns to the great wealth of data offered by the excavations. He is detailed in his methods and findings, and presents exhaustive discussions of Laurel (1976:126-183) and Blackduck (1976:184-316) ceramics relative to their attributes, typology, comparative assemblages and stratigraphic context in the site. He also presents findings related to copper, worked bone and antler, ground stone, shell and red ochre, chipped stone, archeological features and fauna. Of particular interest is the finding that the site's fauna indicate a spring and summer habitation (Lugenbeal 1976:655; Lukens 1973), in contrast to other regional sites that focus primarily on spring spawning fish, such as Hannaford (Rapp et al. 1995), McKinstry (Morey et al. 1996) and Long Sault (Arthurs 1986).

In a summary of site components, Lugenbeal 1976:383-419) places his findings within a Sub-Laurel Phase, the Laurel Smith Phase, and Early and Late Blackduck phases. This is prior to major sections on "A Comparative Study of Laurel Ceramics with Emphasis on Late Laurel Ceramic Evolution" (1976:420-589) and the "Smith Site in Ceramic and Culture History of Northern Minnesota" (1976:590-653). While the depth of this research undoubtedly owes much to Lugenbeal's talent and vision, it must be remembered that it was the site that made it possible (see also Lugenbeal 1978a, 1978b, 1979). In summarizing the 1968, 1970 and 1972 excavations, Lugenbeal estimates that 0.5% of the stratified habitation site has been excavated (see Figures 6-8).

The site limits were expanded southward in 1975, through application of the then-new (now standard) method of shovel test survey in forested areas (Birk and George 1976). [redacted] Lithic artifacts including an Oxbow eared point were recovered during data recovery excavations, defining an "Archaic locus" at the site possibly dating to ca. 5,000 BP. [redacted] as is the relationship of the Archaic component to Lugenbeal's (1976) sub-Laurel component.

In the early 1980s, archeological assessment for proposed reconstruction [redacted] resulted in discovery of the Hannaford site (21KC25) [redacted]. This site contains stratified floodplain deposits, contemporary in part with Grand Mound (Yourd 1985; see also Hohman-Caine and Goltz 1994; Rapp et al. 1995). The assessment study also expanded the known limits of the site [redacted], although this upland portion of the site was determined to be sparse and lacking in integrity (Yourd 1985).

Excavations were conducted by the Minnesota Historical Society in 1985 to guide the proposed stabilization efforts [redacted], and further assess the habitation site in the vicinity of the mounds (Clouse 1985). Fourteen square meters of excavation were completed in 1x2 and 2x2 meter blocks (Figure 7). Unfortunately, detailed findings from these excavations are not currently available. The field notes, photographs and draft catalog indicate that the habitation site's layer-cake stratigraphy was encountered in all units (Figure 8, and see Budak 1995:11). [redacted] Analysis of the artifacts and data from these units in the context of past research at the site should be a priority. Stabilization of the river bank in 1990 has contributed greatly to preservation of the site for future generations (Budak 1991a, 1995).

The period of Mike Budak's residence as site manager saw many benefits for the site, including an energetic program of experimental archeological research and public interpretation. His steady presence at the site also allowed closer observation than had been possible for other researchers. For example, the fifth mound of the site was an ambiguous feature for many years. Its location immediately southeast of Mound 2 was identified by Lugenbeal (1976:2) in 1972, and independently by Mike Budak and Mary Graves Budak in 1980 (Budak files). Furthermore, the traces of a round enclosure were discovered by Budak in 1990, between the Grand Mound and Mound 2. Budak (1995:23) writes that this historic feature is the remains of a dance pavilion (probably Ojibwe) built in 1902, which was converted into a residence the following year. More information on this discovery is present in Budak's research files (copies on file at the Fort Snelling History Center, MHS).

The mid-1990s saw a discovery of utmost importance to the Grand Mound, which would not have been possible without Budak's interpretive vision and extensive familiarity with the site. He had been curious about the relatively prominent (although previously unnoticed by others) ridge extending from the Grand Mound for some time, and states that "the light went on" regarding a possible interpretation when attending a talk by Paddy Reid on serpent imagery in regional rock art. Budak and Reid examined this ridge with a series of three 1" soil cores, with corresponding cores off the ridge to the side. The results demonstrated that the ridge was in fact a part of the constructed earthwork. Dark soil was notably deeper along the ridge than on the surrounding terrain. They conclude that soil was scraped up to construct the extension (the "tail"), building upon an underlying low, natural ridge. The ridge has been eliminated to the east of the mound, perhaps to accentuate the tail, and perhaps to build the main body of the Grand Mound (Budak and Reid 1995:3).

Budak and Reid (1995) presented their findings in a paper titled "Grand Mound and the Serpent" at the 1995 meeting of the Ontario Archaeological Society in Thunder Bay. They note "vaguely similar features" on some other North American mounds, including linear mounds in Minnesota, linear earthworks to form enclosures in the Hopewellian heartland, and earthen ramps on Mississippian mounds. They cite a closer, albeit still distant, similarity to the famous Serpent Mound of Ohio. They note that the 140-foot serpent mound in Vilas County, Wisconsin, near Lac du Flambeau (Ritzenthaler 1947) is a closer match, although it lacks the prominent main body of the Grand Mound. They conclude that nothing like the tail is known from other regional mounds. This is part of the unique character of the Grand Mound, in addition to its size (Budak and Reid 1995).

Budak's revelation regarding the tail marks a paradigm shift for the Grand Mound itself, and in a broader sense for the archeology of the site [redacted]. Recognition of the tail transforms the Grand Mound from a notably large earthwork to an effigy, a work of architecture symbolizing aspects of the ancient religious beliefs of its creators. Having crossed this threshold, it should be expected that the interpretation of this symbolism will become the subject of debate. For example, a large earthwork with a linear extension near Westbourne, Manitoba has been described as "originally in the shape of a long-tailed muskrat" (Bryan 1991). With that possibility in mind, Budak and Reid's (1995) linear extension on the Grand Mound shifts in perspective. Interpretation of the extension as a serpent separates it from the main body of the mound. Consideration of the mound as symbolic of a muskrat, with the extension its tail, unites the two portions of the earthwork (Mather 2003). It is interesting to note in this regard that the extension is referred to as the mound's "tail" throughout Budak and Reid's (1995) paper.

The muskrat is often the Earth Diver of Algonquian cosmology, the little hero who brings up mud so that the flooded world can be created anew. Symbolism related to the Earth Diver has been recognized from the structure of Hopewellian and related mounds, with construction involving "special soils associated with wet, mucky, lake bottom or riverside locations" (Hall 1997:18). A muskrat burial has been documented at one Middle Woodland mound in Iowa (Alex 2000:98-100), and recently at two Middle Woodland mounds in

southern Minnesota (Bakken et al. 2006). Laurel (Middle Woodland [redacted]) innovations such as ceramic technology and mound building are thought to have been inspired by interaction with Hopewell people, [redacted] was part of the vast Hopewellian trading network (Mason 1969, 1970; Wilford 1955). An Algonquian connection to the prehistoric [redacted] cultures has been suggested by numerous scholars, perhaps as far back as the Archaic Tradition (e.g. Lugenbeal 1976; Meyer and Hamilton 1994; Schlesier 1994; Rajnovich 1994), although none consider the issue resolved. Algonquian water symbolism has previously been suggested in interpretation of clay death masks and mortuary ceremonialism [redacted] (Johnson and Ready 1992), and in Budak and Reid's (1995) serpent interpretation of the Grand Mound's tail.

The Earth Diver story takes place in the aftermath of a battle between the trickster hero and the water monsters. The earth is flooded by the water monsters in revenge against the hero, and after a time he asks for aid from the animals to help rebuild the world. In a Cree version recorded by George Nelson in the early nineteenth century, the hero sends the otter to look for mud, but the otter dies and is then brought back to life. The muskrat is then asked to try. "Come my little brother, go thou, thou art small and very active, art fond of water, and goeth to great depths – thy reward shall be that of the otter." A thong is tied to his foot so that he can be pulled back. He dives and comes up dead, but he has a little mud in his paws and his mouth. He is revived and tries again. This time he brings a mouth full of earth and "a good deal more in his *hands* which he held pressed to [his] breast." The hero re-makes the world from this ball of mud, blowing it in all directions (Brown and Brightman 1988:47, emphasis in original).

Similar themes are seen in "The Wenebojo Origin Myth" as told by Tom Badger of Lac du Flambeau in 1944 (Barnouw 1977:38-39). Here the otter expires half-way down. The beaver gets to where he can see the bottom, but can't make it. The muskrat is asked as an afterthought, and he agrees to try. He is gone a long time, and comes up crippled, but he has five grains of earth – one in each paw and one in his mouth. Wenebojo revives the muskrat, dries out the grains and blows on them to re-create the earth.

The Earth Diver story recalls the landscape setting of the Grand Mound site, and the episodic flooding that continues to the present day. In times of high water the [redacted] channel serves as a spillway, after which the area of the mounds is inundated (Figure 9). For example, the site was completely flooded in the early summer of 1970, "its mounds transformed into islands rising above a village area submerged beneath a foot or more of water" (Stoltman 1974:74). Flooding also prevented Wilford (1954) from visiting the site in June of 1954. Similar flooding occurred again in 2002. In terms of geomorphology, the site was a new landform during the Initial Woodland tradition, when mound building is thought to have begun.

Incidentally, muskrat remains have been recovered from the habitation site and the fill of Mound 4 (Lugenbeal 1976:356; Lukens 1973:40). As would be expected from the regional ecology, muskrats were definitely known to the inhabitants of the site. In a more speculative sense, it is also interesting to consider an observed habit of muskrats – piling mud onto the ice in late winter – and its timing in relation to the sturgeon and sucker spawning runs, which begin as the ice goes out – and then the perceived role of the mound sites (Smith, McKinstry, Long Sault) as locations where spring spawning fish were harvested. This concentrated resource allowed congregations of people at the sites where mounds were built. Archaic (pre-mound building) components at these sites suggest that use of the fishing resource came first, and continued for several thousand years. Indeed, the sturgeon runs remain a critical resource to the present day.

Grand Mound has traditionally been considered to be a Laurel mound due to its large size (Initial Woodland mounds are generally larger than Terminal Woodland mounds), although most of the diagnostic artifacts unearthed by antiquarians and burrowing animals are Blackduck. Bryce's (1904) observations support the idea

of older burials in the interior of the mound. It seems likely that the mound construction was initiated in the Initial Woodland and continued into the Terminal Woodland Tradition. The date of the tail within this span of time is unknown.

The overwhelming prominence of the Grand Mound at the center of an archeologically rich region promotes ongoing speculation regarding its anchoring role in that history. Budak and Reid (1995:2) consider the origins of the Grand Mound to be Laurel, and suggest that it "could possibly be the very first mound constructed by that culture." More than century earlier, Bryce (1885; 1904:30) suggested the same. This very well could be true, but we will probably never know. Even if it was appropriate to renew investigation into the structure of the mound (which it is not), the immense size of the earthwork defies any imagined methods to assess its origins, which would presumably lie at the center of the base. Ambiguous results could never justify new damage to the mound, and as we know, there are no final answers in archeology. The power of the Grand Mound is its mystery. This is what has drawn people to it throughout its history, with the full human spectrum of intentions.

Being in the presence of the Grand Mound is humbling, while its effect is different for each person. Its interpretive potential is enormous. It is symbolic, whether of a serpent, the Earth Diver, or something else. The religious and symbolic aspects of most earthworks can only be observed and interpreted through excavation. At the Grand Mound, they are visible on the surface. It is the only known mound in the United States of its type, and it seems unlikely (although admittedly not impossible) that another would have escaped notice. A few share a vague similarity of form, such as the Vilas County serpent mound (Ritzenthaler 1947), but none compare to the dimensions of the Grand Mound's body in relation to the tail, not to mention the landscape setting of the site. The stratified floodplain deposits of the site hold immense potential for continued archeological research, while the [redacted] channel contains a wealth of paleoecological and archeological data.

The site's primary period of significance spans much of the Woodland Tradition (ca. 200 BC – AD 1400), encompassing Initial and Terminal Woodland traditions, and Laurel and Blackduck ceramics, respectively. Other components are also present, however, ranging from the Archaic Tradition into the historic period.

The Ojibwe settled the [redacted] country in the late eighteenth century, and had at least a seasonal camp near the Grand Mound, [redacted]. They consider the Grand Mound and other [redacted] earthworks to be sacred places (see also Paprock and Paprock 2004). During ongoing consultation regarding future management of the Grand Mound historic site, members of the Minnesota Historical Society's Indian Advisory Committee have repeatedly emphasized the importance of the site. MHS has held additional meetings with the Ojibwe communities in closest proximity, being Red Lake and Bois Forte in northern Minnesota, and the Rainy River First Nations, [redacted] in Ontario. In the course of this consultation, several individuals from these communities have specifically voiced support for the site's designation as a National Historic Landmark, citing the continued need for stewardship and protection.

The site has also been a gathering place for the local Euroamerican communities from at least the early twentieth century (aside from digging). [redacted] valued the mounds enough to buy the land in order to protect them. Because of the mounds, this place has escaped the landscape changes of the historic period, and its intact setting shields them from view. Since the 1930s, the site has held a pivotal role in the scientific development of archeology. Following its acquisition by the Minnesota Historical Society, the site has been a center of public interpretation and archeological research. After more than a century of investigations, new aspects of Grand Mound (the tail, for example) continue to emerge.

Integrity

The Grand Mound has excellent archeological and above ground, architectural integrity. As noted above, Lugenbeal (1976:12) concluded that the site possesses "all the qualities that endear it to an archeologist – thick habitation residue, rich artifact yield, excellent bone preservation, and fine natural stratigraphy." The astounding research potential of this site has been demonstrated by past excavation of the mounds and stratified floodplain site. Lugenbeal (1976) estimates that only 0.5% of the stratified habitation site has been excavated, and stabilization [redacted] has prevented further loss through erosion (Budak 1991, 1995).

The largest and one of the most complex mound structures in the region, Grand Mound stands nearly 25 feet above the surrounding terrain (Figure 2). Excavations at the mounds have been backfilled and minor looting scars are dwarfed by the scale of the earthworks. The mounds at the site retain excellent above ground integrity including integrity of shape, size, material and structural context.

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
Nationally: X Statewide: _ Locally: __

Applicable National Register Criteria: A_ B_ C X D X

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A_ B_ C_ D_ E_ F_ G

NHL Criteria: 4, 6

NHL Theme(s): I. Peopling Places
1. family and the life cycle
III. Expressing Cultural Values
5. architecture, landscape architecture, and urban design

Areas of Significance: Archeology – Prehistoric

Period(s) of Significance: 200 BC – AD 1400

Significant Dates: N/A

Significant Person(s): N/A

Cultural Affiliation: Middle and Late Woodland Traditions, including Laurel (ca. 200 BC- 900 AD) and Blackduck (ca. AD 650-1400).

Architect/Builder: N/A

Historic Context: I. Cultural Developments: Indigenous American Populations
B. Post-Archaic and Pre-Contact Developments
12. Post Archaic Adaptations of the Mississippi Valley

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

Summary

The Grand Mound was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1972 (the Laurel Mounds, also called Smith Mounds or Grand Mound). In the nomination, former Minnesota State Archeologist Elden Johnson (1971) describes the site as a "landmark of national significance."

The Grand Mound is the center of an interconnected archeological landscape of mounds, seasonal villages and sturgeon fishing sites [redacted] in Minnesota. This is an extraordinary place that contains not only the immense and unusual mound itself, but also a set of stratified village deposits encompassing the Middle and Late Woodland periods (ca. BC 200 to 1400 AD). These layers were built up through centuries of periodic floods, which consecutively buried the previous village surface with new sediment. This resulted in related groups of artifacts being vertically separated from those of both older and younger deposits. The geological context allows archeological study of culture and environment at the scale of decades rather than centuries, as is more often the case with sites of this age. The village site constitutes an archeological layer cake spanning a period of profound historical change. It tells the story of the site's transition from a spring gathering place for the harvest of spawning fish, through development as a spiritual center by contact and interaction with the vast religious and trade network centered on the Hopewell Culture heartland of present-day Ohio. At this site, approximately two millennia ago, the people [redacted] blended Hopewell ideas with their own indigenous, probably Algonquian, cosmology. The archeological legacy of these events is known as the Laurel Culture, which includes the first pottery and earthworks in this part of the continent. The stratified village site tracks changes in Laurel (Middle Woodland) and Blackduck (Late Woodland) technology, ritual and daily life, in a continuity lasting approximately 1,600 years.

The site is nationally significant under Criterion 6 because of the research value of the stratified archeological deposits (it is also the type site for the Laurel Culture and Laurel ceramics), and under Criterion 4 for the architectural integrity and unique nature of the Grand Mound itself when considered in the context of its recently discovered 200-foot "tail." The large, ovate body of the mound with this long, linear extension constitutes an effigy symbolic of the belief system of its makers, as does the earthwork's placement in a low lying, seasonally inundated floodplain. The Grand Mound is unlike any other known earthwork in the United States.

Criterion 4

Expressing Cultural Values: Architecture, Landscape Architecture and Urban Design

The site is significant under NHL Criterion 4 because the Grand Mound is the type specimen of a rare class of earthen architecture. This 25-foot high, ovate mound with its 200-foot long, low, thin tail is unlike any other known earthwork in the United States (Figures 2-5). While some similarities can be noted to a few other northern mounds, they serve to highlight the exceptional nature of the Grand Mound.

North American archeology was born through the antiquarian searches for the "Mound Builders." Bryce's (1885, 1904) investigation of the Grand Mound was conducted in the tradition of mound surveys and explorations across the continent, most notably those of Squier and Davis (1848) and Cyrus Thomas (1985; see also Lapham 2001; Winchell 1911). The cumulative investigations have preserved a record of thousands of earthworks that have since been destroyed, with a remarkable variety of forms. In their initial consideration of the tail, Budak and Reid (1995) highlight that the mound is unlike the general types of earthworks known in

North America. They note "vaguely similar features" on some other mounds, including linear mounds in Minnesota, linear earthworks to form enclosures in the Hopewellian heartland, and earthen ramps on Mississippian temple mounds. [redacted] are the predominant form in Minnesota, and even the largest are dwarfed by the Grand Mound (Arzigian and Stevenson 2003; Stoltman 1974; Wilford 1937, 1950a, 1950b; Winchell 1911). The Grand Mound's tail is comparable in length to some linear mounds known in western and central Minnesota, but these are more regular in shape. The Grand Mound's tail tapers in height and width toward the tip. While some linear mounds are combined with conicals into compound forms, none approach a clear similarity to the Grand Mound and its tail.

Long-tailed effigy mounds are known from southern Wisconsin, interpreted as symbolic of water spirits or realms. While these earthworks are of clear interest regarding the Grand Mound, whether serpent or Earth Diver, they are concentrated hundreds of miles to the southeast, and their differences from the Grand Mound outweigh their similarities. Many of the tailed effigy mounds have legs, for example, and are thought to represent lizards or turtles. None has the strikingly large, ovate body of the Grand Mound (Birmingham and Eisenberg 2000; Lapham 2001). Moreover, the tailed effigy mounds are part of a wide array of other effigy types; if the Grand Mound is accepted as an effigy, it is an exception among the uniformly conical Laurel mounds. The 140-foot "serpent" mound in Vilas County, Wisconsin, near Lac du Flambeau (Ritzenthaler 1947) is the closest documented match for the Grand Mound, because it also has a long, linear extension. The tail of this mound is the prominent feature, however, with the oval "body" relatively small. This is a clear contrast to the enormous body and long, thin tail of the Grand Mound. The relationship of the Grand Mound to the large "long-tailed muskrat" mound in Manitoba, briefly mentioned by Bryan (1991) is currently unknown. Antiquarian studies of other Manitoba mounds describe linear segments within compound mounds, and linear ramps leading up to mounds (McCharles 1887; Montgomery 1908), but these features do not suggest a connection with the Grand Mound.

Regarding the Grand Mound and the Vilas County mound, it is important to remember that the timing of construction for each remains unknown. It is assumed that the Grand Mound was built in stages (it must have been), as were other [redacted] mounds (e.g. Stoltman 1974). It is not known whether these episodes spanned decades or centuries, or how many. Likewise, the placement of the tail in this process is not clear. If the tail was constructed first, it could be argued that the Vilas County mound may represent a similar idea at an earlier stage of construction. There are still differences, however, with the Grand Mound's tail long and straight, while the linear portion of the other mound curves. Establishment of the date of the Grand Mound's tail construction (cf. Fletcher et al. 1996) would aid in placing the effigy in an Initial or Terminal Woodland context, although continuity between the two is well documented at this and other regional sites. In short, the Grand Mound could have begun as the linear "serpent," or the extension could have been added to a pre-existing conical mound. Or, it could have been conceived as an effigy from the start.

All sacred architecture contains symbolic elements. [redacted], containing cultural meaning in their form and structure. Earthworks in the form of effigies exhibit their symbolism more immediately to the visitor. The meaning of the symbolism of mound construction, including that of the Grand Mound, is a matter of archeological interpretation. Since the discovery of the Grand Mound's tail, this prominent earthwork has been interpreted in terms of Algonquian religious beliefs, whether as a serpent (Budak and Reid 1995) or the muskrat – Earth Diver (Mather 2003). An Algonquian connection (possibly Cree) has been proposed for Laurel, Blackduck and the [redacted] region by numerous scholars, although connections to the ancestral Assiniboine have also been proposed (e.g. Johnson and Ready 1992; Lugenbeal 1976; Meyer and Hamilton 1994; Schlesier 1994; Rajnovich 1994). It is useful to note in this regard that the Earth Diver is also a muskrat in the cosmology of some Siouan groups (e.g. Oneroad and Skinner 2003:188-189). Regardless of the

limitations of any given archeological interpretation, the clear intent of symbolic architecture is to express cultural values and beliefs.

Criterion 6

Peopling Places: Family and the Life Cycle

Grand Mound is nationally significant under Criterion 6 because of its rich, intact and stratified archeological record. As noted earlier, Lugenbeal (1976:12) concluded that the site possesses "all the qualities that endear it to an archeologist – thick habitation residue, rich artifact yield, excellent bone preservation, and fine natural stratigraphy." The astounding research potential of this site has been demonstrated by past excavation of the mounds and stratified floodplain site. Lugenbeal (1976) estimates that only 0.5% of the stratified habitation site has been excavated, and stabilization [redacted] has prevented further loss through erosion (Budak 1991, 1995).

The site is the type site for Laurel ceramics (Stoltman 1962, 1974; Lugenbeal 1976) and more broadly, the Laurel Culture (Wilford 1937, 1950a; Stoltman 1973). Laurel is a prominent northern tier Middle Woodland archeological culture. It reflects the contact of the inter-related Hopewellian economy and religious beliefs with indigenous northern hunting and gathering cultures. Its geographic range traverses the northern Great Lakes, and contains considerable variability (Mason 1981). [redacted]. It should not be forgotten that the prominence of the Grand Mound was instrumental in drawing the attention of Jenks (1935) and Wilford (1937, 1950a) to this site in the early days of scientific archeology in the region. Their work is the foundation of all subsequent Laurel studies. Wright (1999) builds on Stoltman's overview of the Laurel Culture, renaming it the Late Western Shield Culture.

Stoltman's (1962, 1973; see also Thomas 1996; Stoltman 1996) ceramic studies have allowed recognition of variability within Laurel, and have provided a means for relative dating of Laurel components. Broken pottery is the most visible indicator of Laurel throughout its range. It is interesting to note the variation within the Laurel world. Mason (1981) points out that most Laurel sites have been found in southern Ontario, but …

> … they are predominantly very small and unprepossessing campsites yielding sparse cultural detritus; they constitute scant impressions of seasonal rhythms, of one or two families temporarily encamped at a good hunting or fishing spot, which was perhaps visited over a period of several seasons. In particularly favorable haunts larger transient groups made repeated stopovers down the decades or even centuries. Most of these sites are in the boreal forest. But the largest, most complex, and richest have been found along the lower marches of the cultural range in northern Minnesota and Michigan (Mason 1981:284-285).

Grand Mound, the type site, is a classic example of these rich, complex sites, and highlights the seasonal round of daily Laurel life. [redacted]. Use of this resource began during the Archaic Tradition at many of these locations. It allowed congregations of people at a critical time of the year, following the winter's dispersal into small, family units. It is not surprising that these gatherings included broader aspects of economic, social and religious life. The faunal record of the site suggests spring and summer occupations, in contrast with the spring (predominantly fish) resources of the surrounding sites. It is tempting to suggest that this longer period of seasonal use relates to the prominent role of the Grand Mound, [redacted].

[redacted] the primary concentration of mounds within the Laurel world (Mason 1981:286). The Grand Mound is the hub of this concentration. Mason also notes the prominence and fluorescence of Laurel in other parts of its range. In areas of the northern and eastern Great Lakes, mound building and the use of ceramics began and ended with Laurel. Again, this highlights the role of the site as the type locality, and the Grand Mound as the greatest of Laurel earthworks.

It should be noted that the cultural patterns described here also apply to the Blackduck components, and that Grand Mound represents a continuity of tradition spanning more than 1500 years. The site and the surrounding region were utilized both before and after the period of significance proposed here (e.g. Budak 1995; Magner 2001; Richner 2002), but the Middle and Late Woodland traditions are best represented by the stratified archeological components and the mounds. Likewise, the site has contributed greatly to the study of Blackduck ceramics and associated artifact assemblages (e.g. Lugenbeal 1976, 1978b, 1979). The Laurel components are emphasized in this discussion because Grand Mound is the type site.

Another important aspect of the site relates to mortuary practices. [redacted]

The powerful research potential of the site's stratified floodplain deposits is amply demonstrated by Lugenbeal's (1976) interdisciplinary analysis. Building upon Stoltman's (1962, 1973, 1974) ceramic studies, Lugenbeal utilized his findings from the site to define the regional context for Laurel and Blackduck wares. He also conducted comparative analyses of lithic and other artifacts, and faunal remains from multiple pre-Laurel (presumably Archaic), Laurel and Blackduck components. Later interdisciplinary studies of other regional stratified sites (Arthurs 1986; Hohman-Caine and Goltz 1994; Thomas and Mather 1996; Rapp et al. 1995) have followed the model of Lugenbeal's (1976) study, but they are always pulled back to the central geographic anchor of the Grand Mound.

Despite their analytical depth, these studies have only scratched the surface [redacted]. In regard to the site specifically, definition of lithic raw materials has progressed exponentially since the time of Lugenbeal's analysis. The other regional studies have demonstrated the potential for botanical analyses, both of plant macrofossils and phytolith analysis of food residues adhered to ceramic sherds. The soil samples from Lugenbeal's excavations were lost, frustrating his hopes for botanical data. The faunal materials from Grand Mound and the other regional sites have been examined with site-specific subsistence patterns in mind. This source of data is also of great value for resource management studies, for example, to provide a historical context for current efforts to promote the recovery of sturgeon [redacted]. The stratified floodplain archeological deposits of the site are the ideal source for these and other archeological studies. They are intact and protected, and open to broader consideration following recognition of the Grand Mound's tail.

Summary

Grand Mound is nationally significant under Criterion 6 because of its demonstrated research potential of the stratified floodplain archeological site. The property is also significant under Criterion 4 for the unique architectural nature of the Grand Mound itself. This is the type site for Laurel ceramics and the Laurel Culture

(e.g. Stoltman 1973), a widespread northern tier Middle Woodland archeological culture (Mason 1969, 1970, 1981; Wright 1967, 1999:725-780). Within the United States, Laurel ranges across northern Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan. In Canada, Laurel sites are known from Saskatchewan to Quebéc. The site's period of significance (200 BC – AD 1400) is largely determined by the layer-cake stratigraphy of the habitation site and the findings of previous mound excavations (e.g. Budak 1995; Jenks 1935; Lugenbeal 1976; Stoltman 1973; Torbenson et al. 1992; Wilford 1937, 1950a). The recent discovery of the Grand Mound's tail (Budak and Reid 1995) complements the buried archeological record, as a visual legacy of the religious beliefs of the site inhabitants during part or all of this period.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

__ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
_X_ Previously Listed in the National Register. (Johnson 1972)
__ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
__ Designated a National Historic Landmark.
__ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

_X_ State Historic Preservation Office
_X_ Other State Agency (Minnesota Office of the State Archeologist)
__ Federal Agency
__ Local Government
__ University
_X_ Other (Specify Repository): Minnesota Historical Society (Fort Snelling History Center); Koochiching County Historical Society, International Falls.

[redacted]

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: ca. 15.8 acres within

UTM References: **Zone** **Easting** **Northing**

[redacted]

Verbal Boundary Description

The property is [redacted].

Boundary Justification

This boundary contains the Grand Mound, the four other earthworks and the stratified village remains. The [redacted] boundaries are prominent natural features [redacted], and the southern boundary [redacted]. This area constitutes a single landform. It has been the focus of the archeological research summarized above, conducted over the course of a century by Bryce, Jenks, Wilford, Stoltman, Lugenbeal, Budak and the Minnesota Historical Society. Its geomorphology has created the incredible research potential of the stratified archeological deposits, and the surface upon which the mounds were constructed. This periodically flooded setting may be directly related to the symbolic meaning of the Grand Mound, if the Earth Diver interpretation is accepted. At the [redacted] boundary, a barbed wire fence [redacted]. Current and historic land use highlights the boundary, with a sharp contrast between the forest of the site area and the wetland pasture of the farm. In addition, the property line nearly coincides [redacted]. No archeological investigations have been conducted to the east of the proposed boundary.

Other areas within the known limits of the site are spatially separated from the proposed NHL boundaries. While the entire MHS parcel is officially included within the site limits, much of this area consists of wetland and slope, and has not been archeologically tested. An exception is the location of the interpretive center, where an Archaic component was discovered and mitigated (i.e., removed) before construction of the facility (Birk and George 1976). Also, a small portion of the site extends to the south of the MHS parcel, which was discovered and evaluated prior to proposed highway reconstruction. After extensive testing, Yourd (1985:7-9) documented this area as a sparse scatter of artifacts possessing low research potential. Figure 1 illustrates the relationship of these two non-contributing areas to the proposed NHL boundaries. Moreover, Lugenbeal (1976) found that artifact density starts to drop off south of the baseline (Figure 6), which is located within the proposed NHL boundaries.

Between the proposed southern NHL boundary and the interpretive center, the majority of the terrain consists of steep terrace slopes or wetlands associated with the former river channel. While the wooded setting of the MHS parcel as a whole enhances the sense of place for the visitor and provides a visual buffer for the nationally significant portion of the site, the portion outside the proposed NHL boundary has not been demonstrated to contain equivalent resources or research potential.

11. FORM PREPARED BY

Name/Title: David Mather, Archeologist

Address: Mather Heritage Group, LLC
464 Ohio Street
Saint Paul, MN 55107

Telephone: (612) 360-0699

Date: February 22, 2006

Edited by: Erika Martin Seibert
National Park Service
National Historic Landmarks Program
1849 C St., NW (2280)
Washington, DC 20240

Telephone: (202) 354-2217

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM
August 27, 2010

National Historic Landmarks

Property Name: Grand Mound

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Figure Number: 1 **Page**:

REASON: Figure shows the location of the site.

The location of this property is restricted information under law:
National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, section 304, 16 U.S.C. 470w-3(a)
- *Confidentiality of the location of sensitive historic resources*

Section 304
[16 U.S.C. 470w-3(a) – Confidentiality of the location of sensitive historic resources]
(a) The head of a Federal agency or other public official receiving grant assistance pursuant to this Act, after consultation with the Secretary, shall withhold from disclosure to the public, information about the location, character, or ownership of a historic resource if the Secretary and the agency determine that disclosure may –
(1) cause a significant invasion of privacy;
(2) risk harm to the historic resources; or
(3) impede the use of a traditional religious site by practitioners.

[16 U.S.C. 470w-3(b) – Access Determination]
(b) When the head of a Federal agency or other public official has determined that information should be withheld from the public pursuant to subsection (a) of this section, the Secretary, in consultation with such Federal agency head or official, shall determine who may have access to the information for the purpose of carrying out this Act.

[16 U.S.C. 470w-3(c) – Consultation with the Advisory Council]
(c) When the information in question has been developed in the course of an agency's compliance with section 106 or 110(f) of this Act, the Secretary shall consult with the Council in reaching determinations under subsections (a) and (b) of this section.

A redacted version was included with the series, from the state and year for this property that was sent to the Federal Records Center and from there to the National Archives.

A full version was sent in the address restricted series to the Federal Records Center and from there to the National Archives.

Figure 2. Above – Grand Mound from southeast, April 1983, photo from Minnesota SHPO file, photographer unknown. Below – composite photo of Grand Mound from south, November 2005, by David Mather.

National Historic Landmarks

Property Name: Grand Mound

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Figures 3, 6, 7, and 8 were prepared by Joseph McFarlane.

Figure 4. View to southeast of the Grand Mound's "tail" at the connection with the body of the mound (above). View to west along the ca. 200' tail (below). Photos taken in May 2000 by David Mather.

Figure 5. The Grand Mound, ca. 1900. Photo by Gjelhaug of Baudette, Minnesota Historical Society.

National Historic Landmarks

Property Name: Grand Mound

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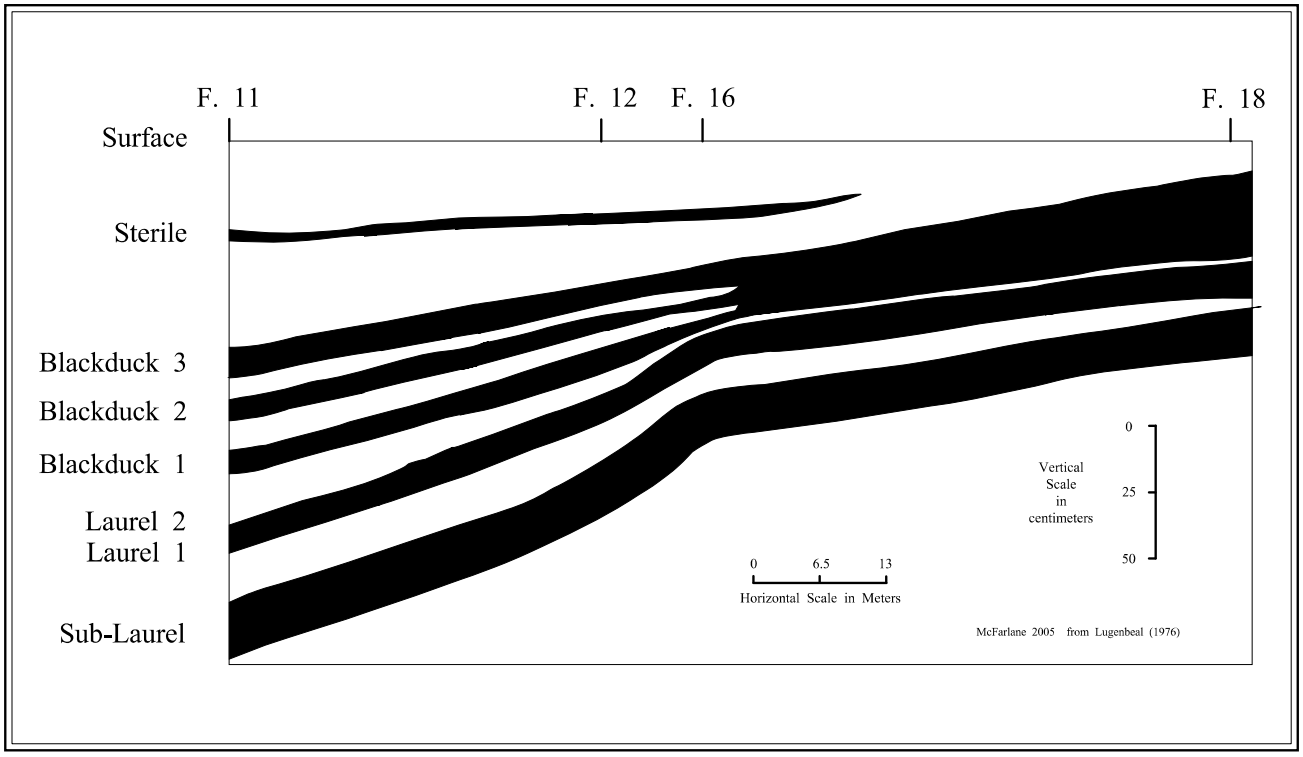

Figure 8. Examples of site stratigraphy, from Lugenbeal's 1976 dissertation (redrawn, above) and the Minnesota Historical Society's 1985 excavations (below). Figures 3, 6, 7, and 8 were prepared by Joseph McFarlane.

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